OLD ENGLISH CAUSATIVE VERBS

By James Finch Royster

Causative action was expressed in Old English by two means:
(1) by a directly converted causative verb, as *settan, cyðan;* (2)
by a periphrasis, as *don, lætan* in combination with a word or
word-group that records the act accomplished or the state arrived
at. The object of the present study is to determine the behavior
of the Old English language toward these two means of causative
expression.

I. The Directly Converted Causative Verb.

It will be well, first of all, to consider the Old English inheri-
tance in means of expressing the causative aspect of action in the
same word that expresses the action itself. The verb-making
machinery of the Indo-European language provided no exclusive
morphological category for this type of verb. Causative verbs
were commonly formed with the suffix *-éi̯e-: éi̯o-,*[1] but this form
group was not reserved for causatives; many verbs of frequentive
and iterative aspect were made according to its formative process.
It is, indeed, by no means certain that the allocation of causative
sense to verbs of this type was not rather of an acquired than of
a primary character.[2]

---

[1] Brugmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen,*
§§ 690-693; Delbrück, *Griechische Grammatik,* IV, 118 ff.; Whitney, *San-*
skrit Grammar, §§ 1041 ff.; Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik,* § 206.

Whitney (*loc. cit.*) calls Skt. *-áya* a "causative sign," but he directs
attention to the use of this "sign" in forming verbs of other aspects of
action.

In Latin many verbs of the *-éi̯e- : -éi̯o-* type were absorbed into the
second conjugation, generally associated with verbs of intransitive aspect
(Lindsay, *A Short Historical Latin Grammar,* pp. 87-91).

[2] Fay ("Indo-European Verbal Flexion Was Analytical," *University of*
Texas Bulletin, No. 263, 1913, pp. 26 ff.) collects much evidence which
tends to upset the belief that the suffix *-éi̯e- : -éi̯o-* was originally causa-
tive in meaning. And other means of expressing causative action were
employed in Indo-European languages. In Sanskrit, for instance, the
reduplicated aorists are largely causative (Whitney, *op. cit.,* § 856); the
Greek middle-voice sometimes has causative meaning (Gildersleeve, *Greek*
Syntax, I, § 150).

This -éi e-: éio- derivative verb was represented in Germanic by the -$ij\bar{o}$- type, the first class of weak verbs.[3] Although Germanic causative verbs are closely associated with this type, the class cannot be regarded as a causative category with any more reason than may be advanced for regarding any other weak verb class as a container of verbs of one aspect only. The case for agreement between form and function in the Germanic weak verb may not rightly be pushed further than Wilmanns[4] carried it in his comment upon Jacobi's attempt[5] to fix rigidly a relation between type and meaning in these verb classes: " Die Gebiete der verschiedenen [schwachen Conjugationen] lassen sich nicht von einander abgrenzen. . . . Auch die Bedeutung ermöglicht keine strenge Scheidung, obwohl eine gewisse Beziehung zwischen Form und Bedeutung unverkennbar ist . . . ; in der ersten treten die Factitiva oder Causativa, in der dritten die Durativa . . . und Inchoativa hervor, doch finden sich Verba von gleicher Bedeutung auch in der anderen Klassen." Germanic weak verb classes were reduced in Old English practically to two. These two classes were in part distinguished by phonetic and inflectional differences. The phonetic characteristics of the first class are umlaut of the radical vowel and gemination of the consonant of the verb stem. These phonetic changes were made, however, only under particular conditions; the vowels of many verbs of the first class never suffered umlaut; while the consonants, never including r, were doubled only in the stems of verbs with a short radical vowel, and then only in certain forms of the present indicative and the imperative.

The two Old English weak verb classes contain verbs of various aspects of action. These classes are too few, of course, to provide a category for every action-aspect. Kellner misrepresents the cases when he says:[6] " If a verb was derived from an adjective, it

[3] Dieter, *Altgermanische Dialekte*, § 215; Kluge, *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte*, § 192; Collitz, *Das Schwache Preteritum und Seine Vorgeschichte*, pp. 100-101.

[4] *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, 49.

[5] In *Die Bedeutung der Schwachen Conjugationen*, Berlin, 1843.

[6] *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 211. Kellner adds (p. 212) that " even in Old English we see that the distinction is no longer strictly observed." " Strictly " is by far too weak a limitation. See Koch, *Histo-*

split into forms of different meaning. If formed by means of -*ja* (1st conj.), it had a causative meaning; if by -*ō* (2d conj.), an intransitive one." At no stage of the language was the matter of function distribution so simple and orderly as this; surely it was not so at any time when we are able to observe the facts of usage in the written record. The conclusion is directed by the traditional assumption that we proceed in language from primitive specification to civilized generalization.

The facts that follow in regard to the distribution of verbs between classes I and II of the weak verb according to aspect of action are drawn from a consideration of one hundred fairly common causative verbs taken from Alfred's Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* Alfred's Version of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (early prose), Ælfric's *Homilies,* Wulfstan's *Homilies* (late prose), *Exodus, Daniel, Christ,* and *Beowulf.* A lexical search would easily have furnished the whole list of causative verbs preserved in the record; but the completeness of the dictionary material would tend to give equal importance to all verbs of this sort, to the common and to the unfamiliar causative verb.

In this group of one hundred causative verbs so chosen sixty-one are of class I; thirty-nine are of class II. This is approximately a proportion of three to two. All of the verbs in this number derived from transitive verbs of the strong conjugation, sixteen in count, are of class I. Only about ten per cent. of the approximately three hundred strong verbs seem to have developed causatives.

In the case of some verbs, double aspect of meaning is distinguished by difference in form as described by Kellner in the quotation drawn above from his *Historical Outlines of English Syntax: hætan,* ' make hot, heat '—*hatian,* ' be, grow hot '; *wierman,* ' make warm '—*warmian,* ' get warm.' But distinction in form does not always mark difference in aspect of meaning.

rische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, § 132, and Bladin, *Studies on Denominative Verbs in English,* p. 7, for diagrams of a cross section of the English language at a time " when 1 class verbs formed on adjectives have both transitive and intransitive senses, while 2 class verbs just begin to adopt intransitive sense." One may well wonder at what precise moment this cross section was cut.

In many instances verbs of class I bear both causative and intransitive sense: *stillan,* 'make [and] become still'; *styntan,* make [and] become dull.' While *trymman* has the same double function, *trumian* is recorded only in an intransitive aspect of meaning; and the complex *untrumian,* again, means both 'make weak' and 'become weak.' Appear in class I, too, verbs of only intransitive sense: *swigan,* 'be, become silent'; *celan,* 'be, become cool,' beside *colian,* also with an intransitive sense.

Many verbs of class II exhibit only an intransitive aspect. But, as in the case of class I, the larger number of class II verbs in the list examined show both causative and intransitive functions; as, *lytlian,* 'be, become [and] make old': *(ge)idlian,* 'be, become [and] make empty.' Other verbs of class II, indeed, leave record of only a causative meaning: *niwian,* 'make new, renew'; *(ge)niðerian,* 'bow down.'

No obligatory form, then, marked the causative verb in Old English. Dependence for indicating the causative aspect of action was placed largely upon the word-order and the context of the sentence. Syntactical necessity, indeed, demanded no more; but desire to emphasize the prominent element in the causative expression must have been felt by precise speakers. Furthermore, the directly converted causative verb represented all shades of causative meaning—from a mild 'cause' to 'compel.' Here was opportunity for Old English speakers to bring into use a special process — by invention, composition, borrowing, or any other means — to express causative action and to particularize among its degrees of compulsion. The users of a language do not, however, always take the chances open to them to differentiate by form the distinctions which logical considerations point out; perversely they disregard these opportunities, and just as perversely they often waste two or more forms upon a single logical function. If in the later and more fixed stage of a language a form does grow to meet a demand for further specialization of meaning, it is likely to be made by analysis. The inflectional system, which in the case of the causative might express the manner of the action in the same word with the action itself, is congealed and will not provide the process. But in the formal language of the Old English written record only a limited use of a causative verbal periphrasis is found. Verbal periphrases of any sort are, indeed, not

so common in this language as they are in present-day English.[7] Of them, the most familiar are *beon, habban,* and *weorðan* joined with present and past participles to form the passive voice, present and past perfect tenses, and present and past progressive tenses.[8] *Sculan* and *willan,* too, are near the point of becoming full-fledged auxiliaries.[9] But the behavior of the Old English verb of the formal record is not distinguished by a habit of composition.[10]

Follow here the results of an investigation into the use of verbal compositions in Old English for expressing causative action. These results confirm with their particulars the general statement made above: that the use of causative verbal periphrases in written Old English is narrowly restricted.

II. PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

1. *Don.*

For use as a causative verb, *don* [11] was at any time semantically available to Old English speakers. The primary meaning of its base *dhĕ-: *dhŏ-,* ' put, place,' is a signification from which a specific causative meaning easily develops, as the writer has shown in an article published in the first number of the seventeenth volume of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (Jan-

[7] See Sweet, *New English Grammar,* §§ 2203 ff.; Erdmann, *Essay on the History and Modern Use of the Verbal Forms in -ing in the English Language,* Stockholm, 1871, pp. 12 ff.; Akerlund, *The History of the Definite Tenses in English,* Cambridge, 1911; Pessels, *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon,* Strassbourg, 1896.

[8] It is, of course, here recognized that in many cases verbal compositions in Old English mean no more than the simple verb forms.

[9] Blackburn, *The English Future: Its Origin and Development,* Leipzig, 1892.

[10] " Though our mode of tense formation by auxiliaries began in Old English and was generally extended in Middle English, it has been for the most part settled and developed in modern times " (*Cambridge History of English Literature,* XIV, 501).

[11] I include *gedon.* Nothing like a systematic distinction between *don* as imperfective and *gedon* as perfective verb appears in preserved Old English usage. See Klaeber, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XVIII, 2, pp. 250 ff., April, 1919; Knott, *Modern Philology,* XV, 1, 64; Larz, *Actionsart in Beowulf,* Wurzburg, 1908.

uary, 1918).[12]   And I. E. *dhĕ̆-*: *dhŏ̆-*, in its dialectical variants, was used in a causative sense.

The construction dependent upon causative *dhĕ̆-*: *dhŏ̆-* varied among a double nominal object, a nominal object plus an adjective predicate, and an infinitive.   Use of *dhā-* in Sanskrit seems to have been restricted in the causative sense to its employment with a double nominal object;[13] as, *mami devā́ dadhire havya vā́ham* (= me the gods [have] made oblation-bearer).   Under correction, it is used with a following infinitive only in compositions.[14] Sanskrit made large use of the directly converted causative verb and also employed *kar*[15] as a causative verbal-phrase former— indeed with a following infinitive: *tena sa pranāmám kāritas* (= by him he was caused to make obeissance).   Any predisposition of *dhā-*'s to causative use may thus have been hindered.   Use of *d[h]ā-* as a causative and with a predicate adjective is attested in Avestan: *sātəm daθāiti urvanəm* (= lactum facit animum) *xšayaməm aš avanəm dāyata* (= regnatum religiosum facite).

While ποιέω is more commonly used in the Greek causative periphrasis, τίθημι (< *dhē̆-*), too, finds causative employment.[16] Causative τίθημι is followed by two nominal objects, by a nominal object and an adjectival predicate, by a noun clause, and (infrequently) by an infinitive.

Latin *facere* is widely used in the causative sense.   In the art language of the classical Roman writers *facere*, in this meaning, is regularly followed by *ut, ne*, or the simple subjunctive, and by predicate nouns and predicate adjectives.[17]   The infinitive ·is

---

[12] See also Yoshioka, *A Semantic Study of the Verbs of Doing and Making in the Indo-European Languages*, Tokio, 1908.

[13] Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, s. v. *dhā-* (p. 176); " 6. make, cause, produce."

[14] Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1071; Fay, " Pro Domo Mea," *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVII, 2, April-June, 1916.

[15] Yoshioka, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Lanman, *op. cit.*, s. v. *kṛ* (p. 143).   The word is cognate with Latin *creare*, which is used only in the general sense of ' make '; while *facere*, cognate with Skt. *dhā-*, employed generally in the wide meaning ' put,' make,' is used as a causative.

[16] Liddell and Scott, *Greek Dictionary*, s. v. τίθημι, B. II: Simonson, *Greek Grammar*, II ("Syntax"), § 2216, 2; Nunn, *A Short Syntax of New Testament Greek*, pp. 89 ff.

[17] Kühner, *Ausführliche Lateinische Grammatik*, II, 1, 695.

practically never used in the dependent construction. But the colloquial language did employ an infinitive after *facere*,[18] and in medieval Latin this was the favored construction.

The dialectical variants of Germanic **don-* (O. S. *don*, O. H. G. *tuon*, O. E. *don*) are used as causatives. In the Germanic languages, the dependent construction varies, as it does in the Indo-European tongues, among noun and adjective predicates, noun clauses, and infinitives.

O. S. *don* as a causative is followed by: (1) a nominal object plus a predicate adjective; as, . . . *uuit* [*h*]*ebbiat unk giduan / Uualdand uuerðan;*[19] (2) a *that*-clause; as, *Oft gededa he that an them land scin;*[20] (3) an infinitive; as, *he doit im iro hugi tuiflien.*[21]

O. H. G. *tuon*,[22] used causatively, is followed by: (1) a nominal object plus a predicate adjective; as, *sina sela heila tuon;*[23] (2) a *daz*-clause: as, *ongin this blinton tuon thaȝ theser in sturbi:*[24] (3) an infinitive; as, *inti tuot sie siȝȝen.*[25]

In Old Norse, Germanic **don-* is unrepresented. The causative burden in this language is borne largely by *láta*, *gøri*, and *fá*.

---

[18] Thielmann, "Facere mit dem Infinitiv," Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik,* III, pp. 180 ff.; Rieman, *Syntaxe Latine,* § 180. In the use of *facere* in verbal composita, as *calefacere*, *pavefacere* (Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 91), we see in all probability *facere* plus an infinitive (Fay, *op. cit.*, p. 159).

[19] *Genesis*, 24-25. Cf. O. E. *Genesis B: ac unc is mihtig God / Waldend wraðmod.* See Behagel, *Syntax des Heliands*, pp. 201 ff. It seems scarcely necessary to quote from Old Saxon or from the other Germanic dialects examples of the two noun construction.

[20] *Heliand*, 1211.

[21] *Tuiflien* may be considered an adjective in the accusative case rather than an infinitive. Steig (*Zeitscrift für deutsche Philologie*, XVI, 478) considers it an infinitive, and argues that this and *Heliand* 5575 are instances of the use of *duan* plus an infinitive as an auxiliary verb. See Pratze, "Syntax des Heliands" (*Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutscher Sprachforschung*, XI, 72). Cases of *duan* with a following infinitive are found also in the O. S. translation of *Psalms*, 67, 6 and 73, 8 (*Kleinere Altniederdeutschen Denkmäler*, Paderborn, 1877).

[22] Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 103; Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, §§ 344 and 350.

[23] *Tatian*, 90, 5.

[24] *Tatian*, 135, 22.

[25] *Tatian* (John 6, 10).

A descendant of the stem fails, too, in Gothic; its lexical burden in Gothic is carried by the etymologically unrelated but semantically similar *taujan*.[26] The constructions following *taujan* are the same as those employed after O. S. O. E. *don,* O. H. G. *tuon:* nominal object and predicate adjective;[27] noun clause;[28] infinitive.[29]

The same constructions follow O. E. *don* as follow O. S. *don,* O. H. G. *tuon,* and Gothic *taujan:* (1) nominal object and predicate adjective; as, *ic gedo þe weligne;*[30] (2) noun clause; as, *Drihten us gedyde þæt we moston buian;*[31] (3) an infinitive;[32] as, *Matheum he gedyde gangan.*[33]

The habits of **don-* as a causative in the Germanic dialects have been described. In tables appended to this article are displayed in parallel columns a dozen illustrations of Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old High German, and Old English translations of the same Biblical passages containing causative constructions. The point of this inquiry will now be directed toward an attempt to determinate the extent of *don's* use as a causative in Old English. The nature of the construction dependent upon this *don* will not be forgotten, for it bears an important relation to the Middle English habits of *don* and to the very probable growth of auxiliary *don* out of causative *don.*

[26] See *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* xvii, 1, Jan. 1918, p. 85.

[27] *Matthew,* 5, 36.

[28] *John,* 11, 37.

[29] *John,* 5, 21. See the tables appended to this article and *2 Cor.,* 9, 10; *1 Thess.,* 3, 12. The infinitive use, whether a native idiom or under Greek influence, predominates in the Gothic Bible.

The O. N. cognate of *taujan, tøja, tyja* was early a common verb of 'doing, making,' but was crowded out by *gørva* and remained in one of its secondary meanings, 'help, assist.' It is used, too, as an auxiliary verb in the manner of *do;* as, *sol ter sortna* (the sun does blacken).

See Yoshioka, *op. cit.,* pp. 24-25.

[30] *Apollonius of Tyre* (Herrig, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen,* 97, p. 27, l. 8).

[31] *Psalms* (metrical version), 28, 8.

[32] With and without an accusative subject. For the interests of this study no good can come of attempting to determine whether the accusative noun is the object of *don* or the subject of the infinitive.

[33] *Blickling Homilies* (E. E. T. S., O. S. 57), 239, 16.

Interest in the causative use of *don* has been, in previous studies, very slight or merely incidental to other questions of usage and syntax, or only the most general statements have been made concerning the construction. Einenkel [34] says that the use of O. E. causative *don* was " häufig." Callaway,[35] who is concerned with the infinitive construction after *don* in any sense, has assembled the recorded cases of causative *don* plus an infinitive. Riggert,[36] dealing with the general use of the infinitive in Old English poetry, throws a vague observation or two upon the extent of causative *don's* employment with a following infinitive in the poetical remains. Dietze [37] gives a casual opinion in regard to the date and growth of the construction in Old English prose; his opinion is that it is a foreign and an unusual construction in Old English. Kellner [38] seems to imply that causative *don* was first known in Middle English when he writes: " From the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth *do* means ' to cause,' thus *making up for the loss of causative verbs.*" [39] Nesfield [40] makes a safely wide generalization that *do* became useful in the causative sense " when our language had lost the power of forming causal verbs, like *raise* and *rise.*" Other comments upon the construction might be cited, but to no purpose in finding a full or an accurate statement of causative *don's* habits in Old English.

In neither the prose nor the poetry, neither early nor late, is *don* with a nominal object and a predicate adjective [41] frequently

---

[34] *Streifzüge durch die Mittelenglische Syntax*, p. 236: " Im AE. is dies *don* (causative with infinitive) haufig, im ME. wird es allmälig verdrängt durch *maken.*"

[35] *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, Washington, 1913.

[36] *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs in der Altenglischen Poesie*, p. 58.

[37] *Das Umschriebende Do in der Neuenglischen Prosa*, p. 10.

[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 352. The italics are not Kellner's.

[39] Very few causative verbs have, of course, been lost.

[40] *English Grammar Past and Present*, p. 357.

[41] The nominal object and predicate adjective and the double noun object after *don* are sometimes considered constructions in which the infinitive of the verb *be* has been elided. If this is true, the examples cited here should be grouped with the infinitives after *don;* but there is no evidence whatever, nor is there any reason, for claiming priority for the construc-

found; but it does occur often enough to be attested a well-established manner of expression in the written Old English language. In approximately fifteen hundred pages of prose I find the construction used twenty-seven times.

In approximately two thousand pages of Old English prose I found sixty-one instances of the use of causative *don* with a following *þæt*-clause.[42] In practically the whole of Old English poetical writing there appear to be but twelve cases of the same construction. Of these, eight—seventy-five per cent.—are from the metrical translation of the *Psalms*.[43]

Don plus an uninflected infinitive seems to have been recorded in all the preserved Old English writing but seventeen times; three times in poetry, fourteen times in prose. Since the instances are few, and because they are of importance in their bearing upon much of the discussion that follows, all of these examples will be quoted here.

In poetry:

Psalms (metrical version), 67, 6: *se ðe eardian deð anes modes* (qui *inhabitare facit unianimes*).

Ibid., 103, 30: *deð hi for his egsan ealle beofian* (*facit eam tremere*).

Ibid., 118, 25: *do me æfter þinum wordum wel gecwician* (*vivifica me secundum verbum tuum*).[44]

---

tion with the *be*-infinitive. The appearance of the logically full construction in Middle English seems an addition rather than a restoration. The logically complete construction, here or elsewhere, is not necessarily earlier than the logically eliptical construction.

[42] *Boethius* 8 cases (10, 3; 24, 25; 36, 15; 38, 8; 38, 14; 81, 34; 123, 3; 123, 14). Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* 2 cases (360, 19; 460, 31). Wülfing, *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, III, 90, cites six instances from Alfred (three from *Cura Pastoralis*) and says that the construction is " sehr häufig.") *Blickling Homilies* 4 cases (39, 27; 71, 6; 71, 20; 159, 6). *Chronicles* 1 case (E 1115: 216, 12). Ælfric's *Pentateuch.* 10 cases (Gen. 17, 6; 25, 21; 31, 26; 47, 30; *Ex.*, 10, 13; *Lev.* 4, 3; 19, 19; 26, 18; *Deut.*, 4, 1; 8, 5; Ælfric's *Homilies* (Vol. 1) 16 cases (6, 7; 84, 16; 182, 14; 242, 12; 254, 1; 320, 21; 322, 6; 372, 11; 376, 3; 376, 34; 442, 36; 460, 23; 460, 29; 462, 1; 568, 34; 576, 20). *Gospels* 9 cases (*Mat.* 4, 19; 5, 32; 5, 45; *Mk.*, 1, 17; 7, 37; *Luke*, 9, 14; 12, 37; *John*, 6, 10; 6, 63). Wulfstan's *Homilies* 11 cases (38, 6; 52, 26; 53, 3; 58, 18; 79, 17; 98, 21; 174, 8; 195, 9; 195, 25; 196, 5; 226, 27).

[43] 28, 7; 28, 8; 29, 5; 30, 19; 38, 12; 82, 12; 129, 1; 142, 8. The other instances are *Daniel*, 168; *Juliana*, 138, 475; *Christ*, 1383.

[44] Again the metrical version of the *Psalms* has an unusual position in the use of *don*. See *ibid.*, 118, 156.

In prose:

  Bede's *History* 98, 27: *se ðe eardigan deð anmodan in his fæder huse*[45]
  Blickling Homilies, 239, 16: *Matheum he gedyde gangan.*
  Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 64, 17: *þæt he do his þeowan rice for worulde genihtsume on welan and unwiðmetenlice scinan.*
  Boethius' *De Consolatione*, 14, 17: *Swa doð nu ða þeostro þinre gedrefednesse wiðstandan minum leohtum larum.*[46]
  Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 468, 20: *Swa swa þu dydest minne broðor his god forlætan and on þinne gelyfan.*
  Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 216, 14: *se ðe deð his sunnan scinan.*[47]
  Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 296, 20: *and ic dyde eow witan.*
  Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 442, 21: *he deð his halgan sittan.*
  Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 600, 12: *Do us lufian.*
  Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, 214, 90: *gif þu me unwilles gewemman nu dest.*
  Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, XXXIII, 316: *þæt he gedo us werlice becuman.*
  Old English Laws (ed. Liebermann), 410 (*Judiciam Dei*, c, 4, § 1): *and þu doest þa fyrhta* (*et facies ea[m] tremere*).
  Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 196, 1: *Treowa he deð færlice blowan.*
  Wulfstan's *Homilie*, 196, 2: *and sæ he deð on lytelre hwile beon.*[48]

To the three cases of an inflected infinitive after *don* cited by Wülfing[49] from the writings of Alfred I am unable to add an example from the rest of the Old English written record. Wülfing's instances are *Orosius*, 126, 31; Bede's *History*, 594, 4; and *Cura Pastoralis*, 356, 5.

The search which is recorded in the figures of the last few pages shows that in the preserved formal language of the Old English period the normal construction after causative *don* was a *þæt*-clause. That an infinitive was so used in Old English poetry only in the metrical version of the *Psalms* was long ago established by

[45] A quotation of *Psalms*, 67, 6 (above).

[46] Dietze's assumption (*op. cit.*, p. 9) of tense-auxiliary use of *don* here may be correct. There is no reason to read *settan* for *setton* in *Orosius*, 48, 9, as Dietze does, in order to increase the number of infinitives after *don* in the Old English record.

[47] Cf. *Matt.* 5, 45: *se þe deð hys sunne aspringð.*

[48] In the late (early Middle English) entries of the Laud MS. of the *Chronicles* five examples of causative *don* plus infinitive appear: E. 1123; E. 1127; E. 1128; E. 1132; E. 1138. No instance earlier than 1123 and no case in a MS. other than Laud is found.

[49] *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II, 184 and 209.

Riggert.[50] To interpret this statement properly we should, how-ever, set beside it another statement to the effect that causative *don* with any kind of following construction is rare in Old English poetry, only a dozen cases of an accompanying *þæt*-clause being recorded, and to the further effect that two-thirds of these are found in the same composition that furnishes all of the instances in the poetry of a following infinitive. Dietze's observation that Alfred used "factative *don* only with a dependent noun clause" is very nearly correct. The writings usually attributed to Alfred's direct or indirect authorship give up three examples of an inflected infinitive (as set down just above) and two of an uninflected infini-tive.[51] Although six of the fourteen examples of *don* plus an uninflected infinitive assembled from Old English prose and quoted on page 338 above are from Ælfric's *Homilies,* a *þæt*-clause is, nevertheless, the largely predominating following construction in this late prose text. In Wulfstan's *Homilies* the count is almost six to one in the favor of the clause over the infinitive.

To the fact that the majority of the infinitives after causative *don* appear in late texts attention has been directed by Callaway.[52] He holds Latin influence probably responsible for the appearance of the infinitive after causative *don.* Dietze [53] is positive in his expression of his opinion that the infinitive in such cases appears only when an Old English writer was slavishly following a Latin original, as in the interlinear glosses.[54] Independent of Latin, he says, the construction is found only after 1100. With "after 1100" he refers to the five cases from the Laud MS. of the *Chronicles* later than 1123 in which an infinitive is used, as he further says, along with the clause construction. Since only one

---

[50] *Op. cit.,* p. 58.

[51] P. 338 above. Dietze considers Boethius' *De Consolatione,* 14, 17, a tense auxiliary. In *Cura Pastoralis* no infinitive, apparently, except in 356, 6 (noted above) is used.

[52] *Op. cit.,* p. 205.

[53] Many of the examples quoted above as causative uses of *don* Dietze considers tense auxiliaries. He would allow infinitive after tense auxili-ary *don* as native, but resorts to the explanation of foreign influence to account for it in the causative use!

[54] On the contrary: "Ælfric is not constrained by the example of Latin syntax," and was "too good a scholar to distort his native language" (Ker, *The Dark Ages,* pp. 307 and 311).

instance of *don* plus a clause occurs in the *Chronicles,* " along with " must be generously interpreted.[55]

The evidence presented to prove Latin influence responsible for the few infinitives which appear after *don* in the Old English written record is far from convincing. An opinion in regard to the question is, indeed, hard to come by. But surely no opinion may be justly held until the *don* plus infinitive usage has been compared with the practice of Old English translators of Latin compositions in turning Latin causative constructions into Old English causative constructions; and has been examined in the light of related Old English language habits; and in relation to the usage as it appears in the later stages of the language.

In two Old English translations of fairly long Latin compositions—one prose, the other poetry—*facere* plus an infinitive is, in the large majority of cases, rendered by *don* plus a *þæt*-clause. All such cases of *facere* in the *Pentateuch* (eight in number) are so translated.[56] Preference in this document for the clause construction is so marked that the translator resisted the Latin model in every case.

The original before the translator of the metrical version of the *Psalms* did not contain many instances of *facere* plus infinitive; and the preference of the Latin for the single-word type of causative was shared by the Old English poet. Five cases appear in which the translator could have imitated his original in depending an infinitive to a causative *don;* in three of the instances he did

---

[55] E. 1115. The most commonly used causatives in the *Chronicles* are *hatan* and *lætan.*

[56] *Gen.* 18, 6; 24, 21; 50, 24; *Levit.* 4, 3; 19, 19; 26, 9; *Deut.* 13, 5; 28, 11. A Latin finite verb form is made into an English *don* plus clause construction in *Gen.* 47, 30 and *Deut.* 28, 26. Opportunities of the New Testament translators to render *facere* plus infin. by *don* plus infin. are frequently avoided; as, for example: *Matt.* 5, 32; *Mark* 1, 17; 5, 45; 7, 37; *Luke* 5, 34; 12, 37. By reference to the table where these verses are quoted (Appendix) it will be seen that Got. and O. H. G. are in agreement with the Latin (and Greek) infinitive form of expression, except in *Mark* 1, 17, where Got. uses a directly converted causative verb. A statement by T. L. K. Oliphant is close to the mark: " But where the Gothic and Latin have accusative with infinitive, English commonly put *that* with a dependent clause " (*The Old and Middle English* [1878], p. 147).

follow the Latin lead.[57] In one of the two in which he departed
from the model he employed a *þæt*-clause,[58] and in the other a
directly converted causative verb.[59] In the interlinear translation
of the *Vespasian Psalter* these two examples are rendered by *don*
plus infinitive. But in the Lindisfarne version the Latin formula
is not always followed; it is rendered by a *þæt*-clause in *Mark* 7, 37
and *John* 6, 10.

A strong preference for the *þæt*-clause after causative *don,* even
with the suggestion of an infinitive before the writer, is shown in
these two translations. What may be an imitation of the Latin
construction is observable in three instances; at any rate responsi-
bility of the Latin for the English construction in these few in-
stances cannot be denied. But admission of this Latin influence
has only slight importance beyond the range of these documents,
and has little bearing upon the question of whether *don* plus
infinitive was employed in the widely used Old English language.
Furthermore, these examples should not be considered alone. Too
much of the " proof " of syntactical influence of one language
upon another has consisted of exhibitions of mere similarities in
forms of expression. Likeness of construction does not necessarily
mean imitation. Language influence and imitation are relative
terms. In all cases of "like-this—on-account-of-this " in lan-
guage, these considerations, at the least, should be inquired into:
is the construction in the borrowing language already in existence
in another sphere of the language and merely changed in its
habitat? is it a thoroughly native but unusual form of speech
which gains in popularity by its accidental similarity with the
manner of speech of another nation? or is the construction quite
new to the imitating language and consciously borrowed by
speakers and writers who know the foreign language and who pass
it on until it becomes generally acceptable?

The influence of Latin upon the spread of the infinitive in the
dependent causative construction in the English language is appar-
ently of small importance in comparison with the effect of other
conditions and practices of the language.

Attention was directed above to the ease with which clause

[57] These examples have been cited above (p. 337).
[58] 38, 12.
[59] 112, 8.

replaces infinitive and infinitive takes the place of clause after the congeners of *don*. In the Old English written language is observable, too, a convertible usage of clause and infinitive after other verbs. After *beodan* and *biddan,* for instance, though a *þæt*-clause is by far the more numerously recorded, a number of infinitives appear in the written record.[60] After the two frequently used verbs *hatan* and *lætan* (sometimes used as causatives) the same swapping between clause and infinitive may be seen. Although after both these verbs the infinitive is almost always used,[61] *hatan* upon occasion commands a clause,[62] and *lætan* also governs a clause.[63] The tendency toward infinitive in the face of the heavily predominating clause pattern after these and other verbs [64] must be considered in any attempt to account for the later English practice of causative plus infinitive.

The obvious preference of the writers of the Old English art-language for the *þæt*-clause over the infinitive is not to be disputed. The practice of Middle English writers, on the contrary, is to use the infinitive after *do(n)* to the increasing exclusion of the clause. The behavior of the superior-class language of the Old English record must be regarded in relation to the practices and conditions of Middle English writing. The bearing of Old English language habits observable in the record upon Middle English language forms and manner of expression has received an undue share of consideration in comparison with the attention which has been given to the possible bearing of the facts of usage to be found in the Middle English record upon the form and structure of the unrecorded language of the Old English period. In a more nearly colloquial Middle English document may be represented habits and practices of the widely used Old English language that do not

[60] Wülfing, *op. cit.*, II, 93, 98, 179, 182, 188, 208, 565.

[61] Callaway (*loc. cit.*) cites more than sixteen hundred examples of *hatan* plus infin. and more than five hundred of *lætan* plus infin.

[62] As in *Chronicles* E. 664; C. 976; Ælfric, *de Novo Test.*, 17, 22. *Beowulf* shows 21 examples with infin.; 2 with clause (2156, 3110).

[63] As in Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 55, 17; 197, 21.

[64] In modern English the practice is not absolutely fixed. The variation continues in Middle English. See Simonson, *Greek Grammar*, §§ 2213, 2216 ff., for a discussion of the convertible usage between clause and infinitive in Greek.

appear in one of our formal Old English literary compositions. So far as its language is concerned, a document of the year one thousand may have been old at the time of its writing; its traditional language may have been many years behind the speech current when it was written. This consideration has been too easily overlooked by students of our language, intent upon establishing an orderly development of that institution, and too desirous of " deriving " the Middle English written language directly from the models of the Old English language whose record we have inherited. In its intention to establish a smoothly flowing descent, the historical method has been too nearly unwilling to recognize genetic gaps.

The standards of the art of literature in the Old and in the Middle English periods differed greatly. Long before the close of the Old English period a fixed literary dialect had been set up; [65] style and manner of expression had become traditionalized; the system of symbols used for representing sounds had been formalized to so large an extent that it probably was not phonetically representative of the current language; its grammar and syntax were, to say the least, conservative. Middle English and Old English, as we very imperefctly know them through their records, are removed from each other by a space of years greater than the short gap existing between the Norman Conquest and the beginning of the next century. The differences between the languages of the two periods are not to be accounted for altogether by the lapse of even a hundred years or more. The differences are also those that exist between class dialects, and are due quite as much to a shift in standards of writings as to a separation in time. Since the immediate source of Middle English phonology and syntax is not, then, to be found altogether in the line of direct inheritance from the preserved records of the cultivated Old English authors writing in a traditional class dialect, our task should not be to fix the practices of the Old English written language as we know it as the bounds and limits of Old English usage and thereby to

---

[65] See Ker, *The Dark Ages:* " Anglo-Saxon books in their handwriting and their shape have the air of libraries and learning about them, of wealth and dignity " (p. 251). The poetry of the period, and most of the prose, possessed a " fully developed language and a regular traditional method of expression " (p. 247). We do not find compositions written in " an uncouth language " " for a simple-minded audience " (p. 254).

exclude the likelihood of the presence in that usage of forms and
idioms first written or extensively employed in the Middle English
period.   The presence of a form or of an idiom in Middle Eng-
lish writing should, on the contrary, set up the presumption that
the usage is of Old English inheritance, unless probable evidence
of its source from elsewhere is furnished.

The use of the analytical causative is found greatly increased in
Middle English writing over its recorded employment in Old Eng-
lish; and the general practice of Middle English writers is to
append to causative form-words an infinitive construction.[66] The
five cases in the late (Middle English) entries in the *Chronicles*
have been referred to above.[67] *Vices and Virtues* (*ca.* 1200) shows
ten instances of an infinitive after *don* to two of a noun clause.
In *An Old English Miscellany* (ed. Richard Morris) *do(n)* is used
seven times with an infinitive; no clause is found after the verb.
In *Old English Homilies,* Vol. II, (ed. Richard Morris) *do(n)* is
used three times with an infinitive, and once with a clause.

Were there conditions of Middle English writing favorable to,
and of Old English writing unfavorable to, the infinitive con-
struction?

The style of Old English poetry, and that of the most of Old
English prose, is characteristically a clausal style.   Its heavy
rhythm, its rolling periods fall into imposing clausal cadences; and
the clause, too, serves its preference for the indirect manner of
expression.   Stylistic intentions may easily account for the almost
total exclusion of this idiomatic form of expression.

The style of Middle English writing was less fixed, and its
syntax was simpler.   In this more nearly colloquial written lan-
guage, the thriftier infinitive would be preferred.   The short-cut
infinitive construction came into full use when elaborateness and
indirection were not longer literary preferences; when the strophic
sweep had been discarded in favor of a more rapidly punctuated

---

[66] Oliphant, *op. cit.,* p. 458. In Middle English, where the dependent
infinitive predominates, the tendency toward dual usage continues; see
Mätzner, *A Middle English Dictionary,* s. v. *don,* 7.   A noun clause is not
infrequent after *make(n)*; see Chaucer, *Clerkes Tale,* 731; Gower, *Con-
fessio Amantis,* I, 2622.

[67] See p. 339 above.

rhythmic form; and when prose no longer followed Ælfric's poly-phonic style.

Argument from silence is, of course, seldom convincing, but the form common to the more nearly vernacular literature of the Middle English period may very likely have been submerged in spoken Old English, to be handed on by oral transmission until the time when the form of popular speech became also the form of the written language. The presumption to be drawn from Middle English usage that *don* plus infinitive was used in the popular Old English speech is stronger than the argument against such an assumption based upon the narrowly restricted appearance of the construction in the written record of the chosen Old English dialect.

The matter of infinitive or clause after causative *don* in Old and Middle English is more important than as a mere detail of difference in style and language standards of the two periods. It is of consequence in the life history of the verb *do* in English, because upon the *do(n)* plus infinitive causative type very likely depends the growth of *do(n)* as a tense auxiliary. And though the primary concern of this study is with the causative use of *don*, the relation between these two functions of the verb is so close that some consideration of its tense auxiliary use can not be put aside.

The first frequent appearance of auxiliary *do(n)* in English writing comes at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[68] Earlier uses of auxiliary *do(n)* in restricted quantity and in doubtful examples are, of course, observable. An important collection of such examples in the fourteenth century has been made by Professor Samuel Moore.[69] Other instances may be found here and there in earlier Middle English. Some students of our language are, indeed, of the opinion that instances of the usage are to be seen in the Old English written record.[70] No one of them, however,

---

[68] See the writer's article, "Auxiliary *Do*—1400-1450," *Modern Philology*, XII, 7, Jan., 1915.

[69] "Robert Manning's Use of 'do' as Auxiliary," *Modern Language Notes*, Nov., 1918.

[70] Sweet, *New English Grammar*, II, p. 88; Grien, *Sprachschatz der A. E. Poesie*, s. v. *don*; Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, II, pp. 62 ff.; Dietze, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

maintains that a widespread use of auxiliary *don* is recorded in the extant language material of that period. Sweet's statement is a fair summary of the generally held view: " The first beginnings [*sic*] of the auxiliary use can be traced back to Old English." Grein cites a few examples of what he considers auxiliary use of *don,* in which the verb is usually followed by a *þæt*-clause. Among his instances with a following infinitive are the examples quoted above from Boethius' *De Consolatione* and from *Juliana;* he includes also the following instances from the metrical *Psalms:* 65, 18; 107, 10; 118, 97; 118, 170; 118, 174; 129, 1; 131, 10. Dietze adds the examples quoted above from *Orosius* (126, 31).[71]

It may be that all of these are examples of a fully developed *don* tense auxiliary. It cannot be proved that they were not felt as auxiliaries by their Old English users. The ambiguous zone between direct and indirect action is, as Professor Moore and I have emphasized, so easily tilted a degree in one or the other direction that judgment as to the aspect of meaning intended is in many cases difficult to render. The limits between the two uses are approximate and not absolute. The difficulty of decision is not to be removed altogether by a logical analysis of single instances. The surrounding language conditions should be considered in any attempt to interpret these and similar uses of *don.* A consideration of some of these conditions creates a favorable attitude toward accepting auxiliary interpretation.

The behavior of congeners of *don* indicates the availability of the verb for tense auxiliary use. Instances of the construction from Middle High German were long ago cited by .Grimm,[72] and two dubious cases from Old Saxon were presented by Steig.[73] Use of the *tun*-periphrasis in modern German dialects is well known. The roots of the usage go, however, further back than the time of the earliest examples cited from Germanic dialects. Sanskrit *dhā* in such a phrase as *dadhe nidrān* is merely a form-word; the

---

[71] Wülfing (*op. cit.,* II, 43), to the contrary; he accepts Boethius, 22, 13 as causative.

[72] *Deutsche Grammatik,* IV, 94. Mätzner (*op. cit.,* II, p. 62) was of the opinion that " one does not have to maintain, perhaps, that auxiliary *do* grew up on English soil."

[73] See p. 344 above.

phrase is equivalent to " did (a) sleep," or " was (a) sleep." Fay [74] thought he saw the *dh* of **dhĕ-*: *dhŏ-* in the ending in the primate *sthām-dh* plus an accusative infinitive, equalling " do (to) stand;" in the Latin perfect ending *-dit*, as in *fun-dit;* and in the *-θην* aorists in Greek, as *ἐ-κλίνθη*, "he did lean." *Facere* plus infinitive in medieval Latin is often merely a convertible form of a tense ordinarily made by morphological change.

Whether it be the single source of origin or not, causative use of *don* is a heavily influencing element in the growth of tense-auxiliary *don*. If we may assume an extensive folk use of causative *don*, which for one reason or another the literary language did not employ, the acceptance of tense-auxiliary use in Old English would be more easily gained. This is not a difficult assumption to make. Where lived for a possible several hundred years the *tun* periphrasis in spoken German dialects until in later years it was recorded in books for humorous or "local color" effects? A great amount of colloquial and vulgar periphrasis of present-day English is unrepresented in our formal language.

Let us examine some of the examples which have been presented as tense auxiliary uses. Of the three cases offered in which an infinitive follows *don*, greatest hesitation must arise in accepting *Psalms* 118, 25: *Do me æfter þinum wordum wel gecwician* (*vivifica me secundum verbum tuum*). As to whether *do* shall be construed here ' cause' or ' do' depends largely upon whether *gewician* means ' be alive, come to life' or ' make alive, animate.' If the latter transitive sense be accepted (with *me* as object of *gecwician*), *do* may be considered an element in an imperative periphrasis. Bosworth-Toller records only the transitive sense for the verb; but the same authority sets down only an intransitive sense for *libban;* whereas the verb is, as a matter of fact, used in the two aspects: ' live' and ' make alive,' as *God lyfde Adam* [75] and *þætte wrecend þa gyt lybde*.[76] Another rendering of *vivifacere* in

---

[74] "Pro Domo Mea," *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVII, 2, pp. 168 ff. Skt. *kṛ* (a causative verb) is found also employed as an auxiliary in tense-making (Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, Vocab., pp. 142-143). The behavior of *hatan* and *lætan* as causatives and auxiliaries is considered below. The same double use of O.N. *lata* and O.French *faire* should be mentioned.

[75] Wulfstan's *Homilies*, 9, 6.   [76] *Beowulf*, 1257.

the same *Psalm* should, also, be brought into view in considering verse twenty-five. In verse one hundred and fifty-six, *vivifica me* is rendered *do me cwicne*. *Do* is here undoubtedly causative; and if it is causative in one case, it is probably causative in the other. Such instances as verse twenty-five, in the possibility of their double interpretation, make the extension of auxiliary use from causative use seem a reasonable explanation, and justify a discussion of its meaning; for an extended argument over the interpretation as causative or auxiliary would be scarcely worth while merely to add a single case to or subtract it from the small number of even arguable cases of auxiliary use in Old English. Acceptance of either interpretation would not greatly affect the history of causative or auxiliary *do* in the English language.

Many of the examples in which Grein and Dietze assume a tense auxiliary use of *don* show a *þæt*-clause after the verb. It is not necessary, of course, that the two elements in a verbal periphrasis be juxtaposed; but they will not readily get fixed in an often-repeated word-group unless they are in a narrowly conjoined grouping. A verb to which a subordinate clause is depended and to which it is loosely joined in position will not easily lose its notional identity and come to be a form-word. It is possible, but it is scarcely probable, that in the following sentence quoted by Dietze as an example of auxiliary use *don* has lost any part of its notional element of 'act': *Drihten is soðfæst and gedeð . . . þæt he firenfulla fæcne geðancas wis toweorpeð.*[77] The clause impediment to tense auxiliary use is obvious in this word collocation.

A third manner of early auxiliary use of *don* is brought forward by Dietze.[78] His earliest example of the construction is drawn from Layamon's *Brut: swa doð a feole wise: to name ariseð.*[79] Dietze maintains that the construction in this and in similarly formed sentences shows the formative element doubled, and that this use is an influence working toward the tense use of *don*. Many examples of this manner of expression are easily found before the time of Layamon. The locution is, for instance, fairly

[77] *Psalms*, 128, 3.
[78] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
[79] 400, 14 (MS. A). For other Middle English examples, see Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *don*, 9.

CAUSATIVE USES IN GREEK, LATIN, GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN, AND OLD ENGLISH IN PARALL

PASSAGE.	GREEK	LATIN	GOTHIC	In
Matt. 4, 19 and Mark 1, 17	καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἀλλεῖς ἀνθρώπων	Et *faciam* vos *fiere* piscatores hominum (Beza omits *fiere*)	Jah *gatauja* igqvis *nutans* mannê.	In ma
Matt. 5, 32	ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχᾶσθαι	*Facit eam moechari* (Beza: facit ut ea moechetur.)	*Taujiþ þō hōrinōn*	*Tu*
Matt. 5, 45	τὸν ἥλιον αὑτοῦ ἀνατέλλει	Qui solem suum *oriri facit* (Beza: *facit* enim *ut* sol suus exoriatur.)	Unte sunnon seina *urraneiþ*	Th
Mark 7, 37	καὶ τοὺς κωφοὺς ποιεῖ ἀκούειν, καὶ τοὺς ἀλάλους λαλεῖν.	Surdos *fecit audire* et mutos *loqui*. (Beza: *facit ut* et surdi *audiant* . . . .)	Jah baudans *getaujiþ gahausjan* jah unrōdjaudans *rōdjan*	In str [+
Luke 5, 34	ποιῆσαι νηστεύειν	*facere ieiunare* (Beza: *facere ut . . . iciunabunt*)	*gataujan* fastan	[N
Luke 9, 14	καταχλίνατε αὑτοὺς κλινσίας	*Facite* illos *discumbere* (Beza: *Facite ut discumbant*)	*gawaurkeiþ* im *anakumbjan*	*Tu*
John 5, 21	..οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς θέλει ζωοποιει	sic et Filius . . . *vivificat*	Swa jah sunus . . . *libban gataujiþ*	sō
John 6, 10	ποιήσατε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναπεσεῖν	*Facite* homines *discumbere* (Beza: Facite ut isti discumbant)	*waurkeiþ* þans mans *anakumbjan*	*Tu*
Mark 6, 39	ἀναχλῖνα πάντας συμπόσια	accumbere facerent omnes		*si*
John 6, 63	τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστιν τὸ ζωοποιοῦν	Spiritus est qui *vivificat*	ahma ist saei *liban taujiþ*	
John 11, 37	ποιῆσαι ἵνα καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀποθάνη	*facere ut* hic non *moreretur*	. . . . . *gataujan* ei jah sa ni *gadauþnodedi*	*tu*
Remarks	Greek uses ποιειν + acc.,* or directly converted causative verb. * + clause in one case.	Latin uses *facere* generally: it is followed by infin. or by *ut*-clause.	Gothic uses (ga) *taujan* and (ga) *waurkjan* + infin., or in one case + clause, and directly converted caus. verb.	O. ve (g on

Gothic, Old High German, and Old English in Parallel Passages of the New Testament.

LATIN	GOTHIC	O. H. G. (Tatian)	O. E. (W. S.)
os *fiere* piscatores *fiere*)	Jah *gatauja* igqvis *nutans* mannê.	Inti ih *tuon* ivvuih *úuesan* mannô	And ic *do* inc *þæt* gyt beoð sawla onfonde
oechari ut ea moechetur.)	Taujiþ þô *hôrinôn*	Tuot sia *furligan*	He deð *þæt* heo *unrihthæmð*
uum oriri facit enim *ut* sol suus	Unte sunnon seina *urraneiþ*	Ther thie sunnun *ûfgangan* tuot	Se þe deð *þæt* hys sunne aspringð [Cf. Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 406, 28: þe lēt scinan his sunna.
audire et mutos ut et surdi *audiant*	Jah baudans *getaujiþ gahausjan* jah unrôdjaudans *rôdjan*	Inti tuoba *teta hôrente* inti stummā *sprechente* [+ participles]	He *dyde þætte* deafe *gehyrden* and dumbe spræcan
re *e* ut . . . *ieiunabunt*)	*gataujan* fastan	[Not found in Tatian]	cwyst þu *magon* . . . *fæstan* [Lindisf.: *wyrca gefæsta*]
discumbere *te ut discumbant*)	*gawaurkeiþ* im *anakumbjan*	Tuot sie *sizzen*	Dôþ *þæt* hig sitton (Lindisf.: Doað ðæm to dælum)
. . . *vivificat*	Swa jah sunus . . . *libban gataujiþ*	sô der sun . . . *libfestigôt*	swa eac se sunu *gelffæst* . . . (Lindisf.: suæ æc ðe suna . . . *cwicað*)
nes discumbere *te ut isti discum-*	*waurkeiþ* þans mans *anakumbjan*	Tuot sie *sizzen*	Doð *þæt* þas men *sitton* (Lindsf.: *wyrcas* and *does* þætta ða men *gesitta* (*sic*.).)
acerent omnes		*sizzen tâtin*	bebead . . . þæt þæt folc sæte (Lindisf.: *gesnyða gedydon* alle)
qui vivificat	ahma ist saei *liban taujiþ*		Gast is se *geliffæst* (Lindisf.: Gaas (*sic*) seðe *liffæstas*)
c non *moreretur*	. . . . . *gataujan ei* jah sa ni *gadauþnodedi*	*tuon thaz* thesêr ni *sturbi*	. . . *don* eac *þæt* þēs nǣre dead (Lindisf.: *wyrca* þætta eac ðes ne suoelte)
facere generally: it by infin. or by *ut-*	Gothic uses (ga)*taujan* and (*ga*)*waurkjan* + infin., or in one case + clause, and directly converted caus. verb.	O. H. G. here only directly converted verb, or *tuon* + acc. (generally) and + noun clause once.	O.E. In W.S. only *don* and that with a *þæt*-clause, or directly converted verb. The Lindisfarne glossed Gospel follows W.S., but also uses *wyrca*(*n*), and also one *don* + clause of W.S. version is *don* + infinitive.

frequent in Wulfstan's *Homilies.*[80] A ready example is: *Leofan men, doð swa eow micel þearf is, understandað* . . .[81] If we consider *swa* an adverbial conjunction, we shall read: " Dear men, do, as it is highly needful for you, understand. . ." If we look upon *swa* as a relative, we shall read: " Dear men, do what is highly needful for you: understand. . . ." The first of these two readings is more closely related to causative use.[82] The construction may, also, be regarded as paratactic; the full logical form of it would be: *Leofan men, doð, swa eow micel þearf is,* [*and*] *understandað* . . . Such sentences we find written in Old English: *doð swa ic eow bidde . . . and gescwicað þære synne.*[83]

This construction is frequently found after the hortatory *uton;* as, *Uton don, swa us micel þearf is, habban . . . ;*[84] or as it appears in the full form: *Uton don swa gyt læran willað: uton beon . . . a urum hlaforde holde.*[85] *Don* in all these instances may be considered an anticipatory verb.

From the anticipatory use of *don* Sweet believed an influence spread toward establishing tense auxiliary use of the verb. Ahead

[80] For instance: 20, 16; 27, 4; 82, 20; 74, 21; 119, 2; 188, 15.

[81] 20, 6. The punctuation is that of the German printed text.

[82] *Do* in Do see! has a different function and, I believe, a different origin from *do* in *I do see.* (See " Do Auxiliary—1400 to 1450," p. 193). *See* in the first case is an imperative rather than an infinitive in origin, and *do* is an exclamatory form of the verb with which *see* is in collision. The imperative of *facere* is used in similar fashion: *Fac, velit: ipsam illum matrem sprevisset;* also it is used with a following infinitive (*Lexicon Totius Latinitas,* s. v. *facere,* 6.) Cf. Modern English *please go. John,* 8, 11 (*do ga = vade*) is considered by Bright an early example of auxiliary *don* in the imperative; here also *do* is apparently a hortatory form followed by another exclamation.

[83] *Genesis,* 2468.

[84] Wulfstan's *Homilies,* 28, 30.

[85] *Ibid.,* 119, 12; see also 188, 15 and 189, 3; Ælfric's *Homilies,* ii, 52, 25. The word-grouping is common in Wulfstan and in the *Laws.* In the *Laws* (ed. Lieberman) we find the parallel Latin usage recorded: *Faciamus, igitur quod adhunc docere volumus* (p. 354, II Cnut, 68); *Faciamus etiam, sicut nobis expedit: succurramus . . .* (p. 301, I Cnut, 20). See Landgraf, G., *Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache,* ii, 1, 115.

The locution appears also with *fremman,* another verb of ' doing, performing,' but with no later history as a causative; as *Abraham fremde swa him eac bebead, sette friðotacn be frean hæse* (*Genesis,* 2368).

of this influence he placed, however, the effect of the *don* pro-verb. Of the anticipatory use he remarks: "From this half auxiliary use was developed the full auxiliary use with the second verb in the infinitive, which is, however, still very rare in Old English." [86] To account for the shift from the third singular indicative of the complementary verb to the infinitive of the complementary verb, Sweet offers only the influence of the infinitives after the common auxiliaries. [87]

The pro-verb use Dietze, too, considered the strongest influence in developing a tense auxiliary use of *don*. [88] He was guided in his opinion by Mätzner's suggestion of such a genesis as a theory alternative with the causative origin of the auxiliary use. From the evidence just reviewed it is apparent, I think, that the use of *don* as a tense auxiliary is too meagre and its relation to other uses of the verb too nearly undetermined to warrant us in drawing any fast conclusions as to its origin and spread in the language of the period. We are able to assemble only a small number of undisputed examples of the usage and only a short list of probable instances. We may, perhaps, find in the record several possible spores of the construction. It is neither possible nor necessary to determine upon a single origin among these possible lines of parentage. The growth of the usage, as that of many other constructions in language, may have been of multiple origin. All of the constructions we have just discussed may have been of some assistance in establishing a disposition for the usage. I still hold that extensive causative use of *don* very probably preceded wide use of the verb as a tense auxiliary. And if we are willing to assume a large causative use of *don* in colloquial Old English, we may then assume auxiliary use in the same language sphere.

[86] *Op. cit.,* II. 2172.

[87] One may be tempted to put down as examples of anticipatory use such sentences as: *And dydon eall swa hi bewuna wæron: slogon and beornodon* (*Chronicles*, E. 1001). But *dydon* here is rather a pro-verb; the sentence should not be considered as a detached unit, for in the preceding sentence in the *Chronicles* may be found the fore-runners of *dydon*. The collocation is found, too, with a conjunction joining *don* and the repetitive verb: *And Israhela bearn dydon eal swa drihten bebead, and abædon* (*Pentateuch*, *Ex.*, 12, 35).

[88] *Op. cit.,* p. 6. For auxiliary *don* Dietze maintains " eine altheimische Eigentumlichkeit."

But causative use appears liberally in early Middle English in all sorts of writing, while extensive auxiliary use does not get into the preserved record for a century and a half or two centuries later.

2. *Hatan.*

The causative function of *hatan* I considered several years ago in an article referred to several times in this paper, " The Causative Use of *Hatan*." To this study of *hatan* as a causative I desire here merely to add one or two observations.

If one's interpretation of causative meaning in *hatan* be at all liberal, its use will be found to exceed that of all other causatives recorded in the Old English remains. Especially is it widely used in the poetry, where it is a formula of the heroic style.

Hatan is used, also, as a mere tense-auxiliary—more frequently so than was *don* in the written record—though its development in this direction was later arrested. It is frequently employed with the subject's agent omitted from the representation, a stage on the way from expression of indirect to expression of direct action. Convertible use of the simple preterite and *hatan* plus infinitive are found in the *Chronicles;* as, *se cyng þa genam eall heora æhte and het niman Sigerferðes lafe* (E. 1015). *Het* plus infinitive is, furthermore, used frequently to translate a simple Latin past tense: *Faroa þa het clipian Abram = vocavitque Pharoa Abram;* [89] *þone operne he het hon on gealgan = alterum suspendit on crucem.* [90] Other instances from *Genesis* and *Exodus* are: *Genesis,* xix, 2; xxii, 6; xvii, 42; xvii, 44; xxxvii, 3; xl, 22; *Exodus,* iv, 22; v, 1; vii, 25; xii, 31; xv, 25; xvi, 33; xxxiii, 7.

Synonimity of *hatan* and *lætan* was noted in my earlier discussion of *hatan*. Further evidence of convertible use of the two verbs may be found in the *Chronicles;* as, *se Cenwalh het atimbran þa ciricean* (A. 643): *þæt Cynwalh kyng let macian* (F. 648).

3. *Lætan.*

As a verb of ' allowing,' *lætan* (plus an infinitive construction) is frequently found in the Old English written remains. As a verb of ' causing ' its use in the same language material is, with

---

[89] *Genesis,* xii, 18.
[90] *Ibid.,* xl, 22.

the exception of its appearance in the *Chronicles,* very small.[91] In the poetical remains in which search was made for causative *don,* no clear examples of causative *lætan* were found, though some ambiguous instances may be cited from these documents. Of the fourteen examples of *lætan* cited by Callaway on pages 306-307 of his *Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon,* thirteen are without doubt to be rendered ' allow, permit '; one may rightly be construed as carrying the meaning ' cause.' I find no causative use of *lætan* in the *Blickling Homilies;* one in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae;*[92] two in Volume I of Ælfric's *Homilies;*[93] six in the *Pentateuch.*[94] In twenty-six uses of *lætan* in Wulfstan's *Homilies,* three are probably causative uses.[95] In these three and in similar instances it is not, however, easy to determine whether we should assign the meaning ' cause ' or the meaning ' allow.'

When the two aspects of action are so closely related as they are in these instances, use in both meanings may be looked for— and found in *Middle English.* With the most favorable disposition toward construing wavering cases as causative, one cannot find more than an occasional use of *lætan* as a causative in Old English writing, a smaller use than is made of *don* in this meaning. The presumption of use in Old English language from *lætan's* extensive use in Middle English is strengthened by the exceptionally large appearance of the verb in the causative sense in an Old English composition more nearly colloquial than any other extended writing of the age, the *Chronicles.* Of the sixty-five instances of *lætan* cited from the *Chronicles* by Callaway,[96] all but five seem to have gone beyond the ' allow ' stage of meaning.[97] Fifty-one of the sixty cases of probable causative use are,

---

[91] The relation between the verb of ' causing ' and the verb of ' allowing ' in *lætan,* O. H. G. *laʒʒan,* O. N. *lata* is discussed in " The Causative Use of *Hatan.*" Got. *letan* leaves record of use only in the sense ' allow, let alone.'

Bosworth-Toller glosses *lætan* ' place, cause, make, get, have, cause to be ' as the third meaning of *lætan;* practically all the illustrations are of the sense ' place.'

[92] 133, 25.   [93] 509, 19; 522, 2.

[94] *Ex.,* ix, 24; xxiii, 11; *Numb.,* xi, 24; *Lev.,* i, 15; xix, 29; *Deut.,* xxxii, 39.

[95] 10, 7; 14, 2; 230, 19.   [96] *Op. cit.,* pp. 284 and 307.

[97] The five are: E. 999; D. 1038; C. 1046; D. 1066; D. 1079.

it should also be noted, in records of a date later than 1040, wherein the language shows other departures from the Old English standard, which are presumably leanings toward folk-usage.[98]

Some of the instances in the *Chronicles* just referred to may very likely be periphrases for a past tense, in which *let* is merely a form element in an analytical expression of past action, and in which it has lost its causative signification. This is particularly true of the use of *let* with no subject of the following infinitive expressed, a usage which is scarcely more than a periphrasis for the passive voice; as, *and leot macan þone mynster;*[99] *let ferian syððan sce Alfeges reliquias.*[100] The construction is paralleled by the impersonal *man*-construction in: *and þet mynster þær let halgian* (C. 1065): *on þissum geare man halgode þet mynster* (E. 1066); *let hine beran ham . . . and man ferode hine to Lincolne.*[101] A similar use in Old Norse is illustrated in: *hann let verð farit* (= he went); *hann let hana verða takna* (= he seized her). The double function of *leten* is frequently found in Middle English.

4. *Macian.*

In any significance, *macian* is an infrequent word in Old English writing.[102] It fails of record in the four hundred and sixty pages of Sweet's *Oldest English Texts,* in the one hundred and eighty-eight pages of selections in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader,* and in the one hundred and fifty-seven pages of Kluge's *Alt-englisches Lesebuch.* It is absent from *Beowulf, Christ, Exodus,* and *Daniel.* I find it used six times in Wulfstan's *Homilies*[103] and twenty-one times in the *Chronicles.*[104] Of the twenty-one

---

[98] See the *Chronicles'* use of *macian,* p. 354 below.

[99] E. 963.

[100] C. 1023. Also, among many other cases, C. 1041; C. 1043.

[101] E. 1123. See Bede, *Eccl. Hist.,* III, 18.

[102] " It is to be noted that in earlier times these Germanic verbs [O. H. G. *machon,* L. G. Dut. Flem. *maken,* O. S. *macon,* O. Fris. *makia,* O. E. *macian*] were not so commonly used as they are in later periods." (Yoshioka, *A Semantic Study of Verbs of Doing and Making in the Indo-European Languages,* p. 17.)

[103] 54, 5; 98, 25; 106, 6; 106, 25; 107, 3; 303, 8.

[104] F. 648; E. 870; E. 963 (6 instances); C. 1056; E. 1075; E. 1086; E. 1095; E. 1137 (4 instances); E. 1140 (2 instances); E. 1154.

examples from the *Chronicles,* seventeen come from the late Laud MS.; thirteen are found after the entry for 1056 (six of the eight of earlier record than 1056 are used in the entry for the year 963, a full and easily written narrative); and seven uses are after the 1131 break in the composition of the Laud Ms.

The notion 'create,' the notion 'build,' are generally expressed in Old English writing by *wyrcan, (ge)sceapan, arœran,* and *(ge)timbrian.* *Facere* in the general sense 'make' is usually translated by one of these verbs, while in the causative sense, it is turned by *don, lœtan,* or *hatan.*

In a causative sense *macian* is found in very few instances in the Old English written record. *Cura Pastoralis* furnishes one example;[105] Volume I of Ælfric's *Homilies,* one;[106] Wulfstan's *Homilies,* two;[107] the *Pentateuch,* two.[108] Of the twenty-one uses of *macian* in the *Chronicles,* only three are of causative meaning.[109]

No examples occur in the Old English written record, so far as I know, of an infinitive construction after *macian.* I have found nothing to contradict the statement of the *New English Dictionary* that the earliest use of the verb with an infinitive is to be found in the *Lambeth Homilies (ca.* 1175).[110] After the few instances of causative *macian* in the record may be found a *þœt*-clause;[111] an object and an object complement;[112] and an object plus a *to*-prepositional phrase.[112]

5.   *Other Verbs.*

There remain for slight notice a few other verbs, of small consequence in later causative use, found sparingly employed as causatives in Old English writing. Of these it will be well to mention:

---

[105] Cited by Wülfing, *op. cit.,* II, 90; see also I, 97.

[106] 6, 11.   [107] 54, 5; 98, 25.

[108] *Gen.,* xii, 2; *Ex.,* v, 21.   [109] F. 870; E. 963; E. 1075.

[110] Case cited also by Oliphant, *op. cit.,* 226. Einenkel (*Streifzüge durch die M. E. Syntax,* p. 236) refers the first use of " pure " infinitive after *macen* to Layamon.

[111] *Chronicles,* F. 870 and E. 1075; the two examples cited above from Ælfric and Wulfstan.

[112] *Chronicles,* E. 963; *Genesis,* xii, 2.

Biegan, which as a causative is sometimes found, followed by an object and a *to*-prepositional phrase,[113] and once at least by an infinitive.[114]

Berenian, ' arrange, cause,' which is apparently a lexical word. See Bosworth-Toller.

Bringan, which is found in collision with a *þæt*-clause;[115] with an object plus an attributive participle;[116] and with a *to*-prepositional phrase.[117]

Wyrcan, which is recorded a few times in causative use.[118] In at least one instance an infinitive follows *wyrcan,* where it translates *facere* plus an infinitive.[119] With a following clause I have not found the verb, but I have noted a following object and objective complement,[120] and an object plus a *to*-prepositional phrase.[121]

In the Old English written record are found several verbs of *implied* causation, verbs which express an instigation to action exerted upon an agent actor but which do not represent the action as having been completed. Verbs of this sort are *mannian,* ' suggest,' exhort '; *eggian,* ' egg, incite '; *bescufan,* ' impel '; *sprytan,* ' incite '; *tihtan,* ' exhort.'

B̦ringing about an action through an unwilling agent is usually represented in the Old English record by *niedan.* Grades of emphasis of the causative element are well illustrated by the following climactic sentence from Wulfstan's *Homilies:* [122] *þa he wile þreatian and ægeslice wyldan and earmlice þingan . . . and neodunga nydan þæt he . . .* Fading of the compulsory sense in *niedan* is shown by its convertible use with *don* in the translation

---

[113] See Wülfing, *op. cit.,* II, 215; Ælfric's *Homilies,* I, 362, 34.

[114] *Psalms,* 143, 14, cited by Callaway, *op. cit.,* p. 110.

[115] *Salamon and Saturn,* 31-32.

[116] *Ibid.,* 174-175.

[117] *Ibid.,* 149.

[118] Gothic uses *gawaurkjan* as a causative with a following infinitive; as, *Mark,* 3, 14; *Luke,* 9, 14. See appended tables below. O. S. *giuuirkean* with object and objective complement is found in the *Heliand* (for example, 161, 2108).

[119] *Lindisfarne Gospel, Luke,* 5, 34.

[120] *Genesis,* 254; Ælfric's *Homilies,* I, 254, 8; I, 482, 19.

[121] *John,* 10, 33; Wulfstan's *Homilies,* 163, 2.

[122] 84, 19-21.

of *cogis* in Metrum 5, Bk. I of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by *gedest* in the Old English prose translation and by *genedest* in the poetical version.

The normal construction after the verb is a *þæt*-clause.[123] It is followed also by an object plus a *to*-prepositional phrase, and, in one or two instances, by an infinitive. Of the last use Callaway[124] cites *Mark, 6*, 45 as an example. *Cura Pastoralis*[125] presents an example of a following inflected infinitive. In Middle English, *neden* shares in the movement toward the infinitive short-cut, along with *don, macian,* and other verbs that are clause bound in Old English writing.

Comparatively small use was made in the Old English written record of the three causative form-words—*don, lætan, macian*—which in Middle English writing find wide employment in this function and continue so to be used until toward the end of the period, when *make*(*n*) is fixed as the general causative, when *do*(*n*) sheds its causative use for its heavy task of tense formation, and *lete*(*n*) practically loses its causative function for its particularization as a subjunctive auxiliary. Of these three verbs, *macian,* the most common in Modern English, is most sparsely represented in Old English writing. An account of the behavior of these words in the language material lying between Old and Modern English will soon be given in an article on Middle English causatives. This paper has, it is hoped, at least cleared the way for presenting that study.

The University of North Carolina.

---

[123] *Luke,* 14, 23. Here and elsewhere (*Gal.,* 6, 12 for example) Gothic puts an infinitive after *naupan.*

[124] *Op. cit.,* p. 112.   [125] 302, 19.